SCRUTINY

REISSUED IN 20 VOLUMES
WITH AN INDEX AND
RETROSPECT

VOLUME XX
RETROSPECT
&
INDEX

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SCRUTINY

XX

A RETROSPECT

INDEXES

ERRATA

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MAURICE HUSSEY

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'SCRUTINY': A RETROSPECT

That it should be the Cambridge University Press that undertakes this reprint of *Scrutiny* seems to me altogether right, for *Scrutiny* was essentially Cambridge's achievement. To convey in saying this the implication that it was an historic one is to make the claim, or state the assumption, in what, I hope, is a sufficiently modest way, the occasion and the circumstances being what they are. One does not in any case give oneself to such an enterprise (I mean *Scrutiny*) and maintain it, in the face of every discouragement, for twenty years, without a clear conception of its nature and a strong conviction that the causes served are of great moment, so that to achieve any marked success might be to make a difference in history. But the emphasis I lay on Cambridge is inevitable and unaffected.

Only at Cambridge could the idea of *Scrutiny* have taken shape, become a formidable life, and maintained the continuous living force that made it hated and effective. It was (to deepen the emphasis) a product, the triumphant justifying achievement, of the English Tripos. I express, and intend to encourage, no simple parochial enthusiasm or loyalty in dwelling on these truths. I had better, in fact, add at once the further testimony that *Scrutiny* started, established itself and survived in spite of Cambridge. And it will be my duty to insist on this ungracious note. If you are intent on vindicating the Idea of a University (an inseparable undertaking, we felt—we who founded *Scrutiny*—from that of vindicating the Idea of Criticism), and on the peculiar need, at this moment of history, to have the Idea realized in a potent living actuality, you will have no difficulty in understanding how the word 'academic' acquired its pejorative force, and you will know that, even at the cost of indecorum, you must do all that can be done to discourage illusions. You will know that the academic spirit may smile upon and offer to take up the causes of your advocacy, but that it will none the less remain what it is and be, in the academic world, always a present enemy.

We who founded *Scrutiny* could have no illusions. It was an outlaws' enterprise, and we were kept very much aware of that from the outset to the close. The research students and undergraduates who used, in the early 'thirties, to meet at my house, which was very much a centre, did not suppose that they were meeting at an official centre of 'Cambridge English', or one that was favoured by the official powers. They gravitated there because it had become known as a place where the essential nature, the importance and the possibilities of the English Tripos were peculiarly matters of preoccupation—where in such preoccupation the 'Cambridge' ethos that had made Cambridge the university to come to had an intensified conscious life. We had most of us taken the English Tripos; a couple of us—I should have said '*our* house' in the sentence before the last—were (without salaries—an important point) teaching for it; the research students aspired to prove that they had subjects in

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dealing with which they could vindicate conceptions of 'research' answering to the spirit of the English Tripos. *Fiction and the Reading Public*, the appearance of which was a contemporary event, worked in the intellectual climate as a pervasive and potent influence—the more potent because everyone knew that the book had been written as a dissertation in the English School.

Such a milieu favoured discussion of the state of criticism—discussion urgent and unacademic. I mean, we had no tendency to confine ourselves to questions of method or theory, and the 'practicality' of the 'practical criticism' we were indeed (taking 'practical' as the antithesis of 'theoretical') concerned to promote was not just a matter of analytic technique and brilliant exercises. What governed our thinking and engaged our sense of urgency was the inclusive, the underlying and overriding, preoccupation: the preoccupation with the critical function as it was performed, or not performed, for our civilization, our time, and us. The discussion was probably as little naïve, as intelligently concerned with fundamentals, and as truly practical and realistic in spirit as any that could have been reported from an English-speaking milieu at that time. To say this is not, I think, to be wantonly or indecently assertive, or at all extravagant: it is to insist on the essential significance of Cambridge in the way that belongs to my theme.

In the immediate background, then, was *Fiction and the Reading Public*, with its documentation and analysis of the developments that had left our culture in the plight that disquieted and challenged us. The reflexions incited by that work were reinforced by the reviewing it suffered in the organs addressed to the educated public—*The New Statesman* ('Best-sellers Massacred'), the Sunday papers, and so on. Our observations and conclusions in regard to the contemporary performance of the critical function at the level of the higher reviewing were those presented in my article, 'What's Wrong With Criticism?', which appeared in the second number of *Scrutiny* (September 1932). That article, there is point in recording, was drawn from a pamphlet I wrote at the invitation of the editor of *The Criterion* (who liked, he wrote to tell me, my recent 'Minority Pamphlet', *Mass Civilization and Minority Culture*) for the 'Criterion Miscellany'. When he had my typescript he let me finally understand (much time having passed) that he preferred not to publish it. I will not modestly say that no doubt it was the inadequacy of my work that made him regret his commission and decide to go back on it. The truth is that I found reason, and found steadily more as perception became sharper and the evidence multiplied, for the conclusion I at first resisted but have long had to rest in as clear and significant fact: what he objected to was the pamphleteering strength. Perhaps (though editor of *The Criterion*) he had not realized what his commission taken seriously would mean. But in any case, reading what I had written and the illustrative matter I had assembled (see 'What's Wrong With Criticism?'), he knew that such a pamphlet would arouse unforgiving hostility in the dominant literary world, and knew too that it was not at all his vocation to incur such hostility for himself.

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An advanced Cambridge intellectual, who had the art of being advanced without offending anyone, and of being anti-academic while remaining academically acceptable, said to me, I remember, at about the same time, with quiet admonitory irony: '*I* am not a moral hero.' Whether the editor of *The Criterion* would ever have liked to be one I have found it impossible to tell, but the effects, in *The Criterion*, of the editorial determination to maintain a solidarity with that world to which any real offer at asserting the function of criticism must give mortal offence were plain to see, once one's eye had lost its respectful innocence. And they were becoming rapidly plainer.

My point in recalling these things is that when we discussed the state of criticism, and reflected that the whole of the English-speaking world could not—or would not—support one serious critical review, the existence of *The Criterion* did not seem to us a reason for qualifying.

Of what a serious critical review might be we had an example before us in *The Calendar of Modern Letters*, which belonged to the recent past, having died in 1927 after two and a half years of life (1925–7). *The Calendar* did most unquestionably represent a real offer (it was a very impressive one) to establish a strong and lively contemporary criticism. Its reviewing had the weight, responsibility and edge given by disinterested intelligence that perceives and judges out of a background of wide cultivation and of acquaintance with relevant disciplines. At the core of its contributing connexion was a group of half-a-dozen intelligent critics who really were, it was plain, a group. Discussion playing over a body of common interests could be felt behind their writing. And a quick perceptive responsiveness to the new creative life of the time had determined the interests, the idiom and the approach. In the middle 'twenties, for instance, *The Calendar* recognized unequivocally that a basic change had occurred in poetry—and not merely that the Eliot of *The Waste Land* had talent and would repay more attention than, for instance, *The London Mercury* contrived to suggest. The recognition was apparent in the reviewing, as in the verse *The Calendar* itself printed, but I will refer in particular to Edgell Rickword's essay, 'The Re-creation of Poetry: Art and the Negative Emotions' which I included in the selection of *Calendar* work, *Towards Standards of Criticism*, that, as a calculated demonstration, I brought out in 1933, when *Scrutiny* had started.

The name of our new quarterly was itself thought of as a salute and a gesture of acknowledgement—an assertion of a kind of continuity of life with *The Calendar*, whose 'Scrutinies', set critiques of the Old Guard, the modern 'classics', it overtly recalled (for there was a very current volume, *Scrutinies*, reprinting those of Barrie, Bennett, Chesterton, De La Mare, Kipling, Masefield, George Moore, Shaw, Wells and Galsworthy—the last being D. H. Lawrence's).

We did not, however, suppose that we were repeating *The Calendar*, or attempting to do so. We saw a finality in the brief episode of its life: if an organ at once so intelligent and so lively could not find and hold a public large enough to support it, then no serious literary review, it was plain, could hope in our time to maintain

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itself on business lines—meeting costs and paying contributors, that is, out of the revenue from sales and advertisements. The processes of civilization that were associated with the symbolic name of Northcliffe had brought us here. But it did not, we thought, follow that, because the potential public for a critical review was not large enough to make it, in the ordinary sense, pay, there could not be one. There *must* be one—that was our assumption; and the problem was that of finding some other than the old business way of keeping it going. We were not thinking of possible subsidies, and that was not merely because we did not think of the talent for attracting them as one of the qualifications we could muster, but because we were intent on a solution of a more significant kind.

We were of course empirical and opportunist in spirit: we were very conscious of being in a particular place at a particular time, and the cue, we should have said, was to make the most of the advantages the accidents of the place and the time offered. But we were very conscious too of what was more than accidental in and behind the accidents, and of what the advantages were. This was the hey-day of the Marxising literary intellectual. We were anti-Marxist—necessarily so (we thought); an intelligent, that is a real, interest in literature implied a conception of it very different from any that a Marxist could expound and explain. Literature—what we knew as literature and had studied for the English Tripos—mattered; it mattered crucially to civilization—of that we were sure. It mattered because it represented a human reality, an autonomy of the human spirit, for which economic determinism and reductive interpretation in terms of the Class War left no room. Marxist fashion gave us the doctrinal challenge. But Marxism was a characteristic product of our 'capitalist' civilization, and the economic determinism we were committed to refuting practically was that which might seem to have been demonstrated by the movement and process of this. The dialectic against which we had to vindicate literature and humane culture was that of the external or material civilization we lived in. 'External' and 'material' here need not be defined: they convey well enough the insistence that our total civilization is a very complex thing, with a kind of complexity to which Marxist categories are not adequate.

Cambridge, then, figured for us civilization's anti-Marxist recognition of its own nature and needs—recognition of that, the essential, which Marxian wisdom discredited, and the external and material drive of civilization threatened, undoctrinally, to eliminate. It was our strength to be, in our consciousness of our effort, and actually, in the paradoxical and ironical way I have to record, representatives of that Cambridge. We *were*, in fact, that Cambridge; we felt it, and had more and more reason to feel it, and our confidence and courage came from that. In the strength of the essential Cambridge which it consciously and explicitly represented, *Scrutiny* not only survived the hostility of the institutional academic powers; it became—who now questions it?—the clear triumphant justification to the world of Cambridge as a humane centre. In Cambridge it was the vitalizing force that gave the English School its reputation

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and influence, and its readers in the world at large, small as the subscribing public was, formed an incomparably influential community. A large proportion of them were concerned with education in schools and universities. The achievement of our quixotic anti-academic design, the demonstration of the power of essential Cambridge to defeat the academic ethos from within in the most positive and creative way, could not have been more complete and significant.

For there was nothing academic about *Scrutiny's* performance. Through two decades it discharged the responsibilities of criticism with decisive force. It had no equivalent of the Marxist or the *Criterion* philosophy and no critical orthodoxy, but its large connexion of very varied critics, serving an ideal of living perception and real judgement, came to form, in respect of sensibility and criteria, a community, out of whose essentially collaborative work a consistency emerged, so that *Scrutiny* established, for those concerned, in the face of the contemporary confusion, with value and significance and the movement of life, something like an authoritative chart. Its main valuations *were* authoritative; that is, they imposed themselves, and, however derided or resented at first, have become accepted currency. It established a new critical idiom and a new conception of the nature of critical thought. Its critical attention to the present of English literature was accompanied by an intimately related revaluation of the past—for the attention paid to the past in a sustained series of critiques and essays amounted to that.

It is plain that while it was proper to say, as I did a few lines back, that *Scrutiny* had no philosophy (none, at any rate, answering to the current polemical requirements) and no orthodoxy, it had behind it in respect of idea and conviction something very far from negative: there was a strongly positive conception of what a real offer to perform the critical function would be—a conception of the state and drive of civilization in this country, the cultural need, and the way of meeting this. That is, we who collaborated in *Scrutiny* recognized, for all our diversities of creed and 'philosophy', that we belonged to a common civilization and a positive culture. That culture was for us pre-eminently represented by English literature. We believed there *was* an English literature—that one had, if intelligently interested in it, to conceive English literature as something more than an aggregate of individual works. We recognized, then, that like the culture it represented it must, in so far as living and real, have its life in the present—and that life is growth. That is, we were concerned for conservation and continuity, but were radically anti-academic. We were concerned to promote that which the academic mind, in the 'humanities', hates: the creative interplay of real judgements—genuine personal judgements, that is, of engaged minds fully alive in the present.

Where the Idea of a University was in question, we were concerned to demonstrate that Cambridge need not be academic—that the essential Cambridge *was* not. Our special business was literary criticism but we saw nothing arbitrary in our taking the creative process of criticism—that interplay of personal judgements in which

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values are established and a world created that is neither public in a sense congenial to science nor merely private—as representative and type of the process in which the human world is created and renewed and kept living; the human world without which the 'scientific edifice of the physical world...in its intellectual depth, complexity and articulation' (pronounced in Sir Charles Snow's Rede Lecture not long ago to be the 'most beautiful and wonderful collective work of the mind of man') would have had no meaning or use—would not have been possible. We knew, as I have put it in commenting on that lecture, that this prior human achievement, the creation of the human world, is not one we can rest on as on something done in the past, but lives in the living creative response to change in the present. We saw it as the function both of criticism and of the English School at our ancient university to be the focused effort of the larger cultural community at making that response.

That *Scrutiny*, then, was a very different kind of enterprise from those subsequent American quarterlies which have long represented the main possibility of one's finding, now and then, an intelligent critique or an informed, thorough and responsible review, should be plain. The difference lay in the charged positiveness of conception and intention with which we were engaged in something more specific, ambitious and (to the academic mind) offensive than, merely and generally, running an intellectual literary organ. It lay in the strong positive conception of function and means in relation to time and place and opportunity, contemporary civilization (of which we had a pondered relevant view) being what we saw it to be. It lay in the fact that *Scrutiny*, unlike the American quarterlies (and *The Criterion*) had no subsidy (and none in prospect). Indeed, *not* to be subsidized was a part of the conception. We were out to prove that, with such a *pied-à-terre* as we, the ring-leaders, were somehow contriving to keep, the enterprise we conceived could be made to maintain itself—to the extent, that is, of paying the printing costs.

It was essential to the conception of *Scrutiny* to demonstrate that, the total function having been challengingly presented and the challenge enforced in strong, convinced and intelligent performance, a public could be rallied, a key community of the *élite* (one therefore disproportionately influential) formed and held. *Scrutiny* made its own reputation and made it, in spite of the fierce (and unscrupulous) hostility of the literary and academic worlds, very rapidly. Our contributors wrote, if anything more than devotion to the common idea were required, for the honour: there was advantage as well as satisfaction in being printed in a place that conferred distinction. Instead of paying them (we couldn't—or pay ourselves, the 'staff') we maintained a notoriously exacting standard. In this way we attracted talent from outside Cambridge, as well as known and established names we didn't want (a burden and an embarrassment—and however tactful the rejecting note, animus was incurred). But the core of the contributing connexion, at any rate in the earlier years, were young graduates, products of 'Cambridge English', at the research stage and frequenters of the house at which the idea of *Scrutiny* was conceived.

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The relation with 'Cambridge English' was close and essential, though institutionally uncountenanced, and known not to enjoy official favour. It represented a realized part of our conception of *Scrutiny*; here we had the active association of the concern for the critical function with the concern for the University as a humane centre. For the nucleus actually at Cambridge, work for *Scrutiny* was inseparable from their studies and teaching in (however unofficially) the English School and from their research. *Scrutiny* would not have been possible if there had not been the English Tripos and the established actuality of 'Cambridge English', and 'Cambridge English' without *Scrutiny* would, these thirty years, have been without the vitalizing force that has made it a decisive influence in education (and more than education).

And lest in these observations I should be taken to be in any way confirming the idea that *Scrutiny* was the organ of a small and narrow group, or cultivated the ethos of coterie, I will add that before it stopped it had printed well over a hundred and fifty contributors. These were of diverse creeds and outlooks, and their range of subject corresponded to our contention that the English School should be a liaison centre. Of the attention given to foreign literatures it is proper that the French should have had the greatest proportion, the long relation between English and French having its unique importance and its key significances. Some of the work on the *Grand Siècle* done in *Scrutiny* is very well known, though—long current in book form and much favoured in the metropolitan literary world—it tends not to be credited to *Scrutiny*, which, indeed, has not altogether escaped the smear of 'Francophobia' with which a representative editor, the one now writing, has been, oddly enough, distinguished. But there is a great deal else on French, and if it was characteristic of *Scrutiny* to print reappraisals of Corneille and Racine, it was equally characteristic that it should, after the war, have been first in the field with its reports on Sartre and Camus. And if, with one of the essential aspects of *Scrutiny's* achievement in view, I may point to a distinguished and highly individual product of not very commonly co-present qualifications as representative, in its way, of *Scrutiny's* differentia, I will point to the essay that James Smith wrote on Mallarmé (volume VII, page 466) as a review of a book on that poet by a German—a book of which I think it likely that it received no other serious review in any journal in the English language. If we aimed to be free from academicism, it was not by being unqualified academically.

James (now Professor) Smith's essay is a searching piece of critical thought; it could have been written only by a critic capable of intelligent original judgement in the poetry of his own language who was also wholly inward with both German and French. It is, in fact, with its combination of sensitive perception and intellectual sineweiness the work of the author of that essay on 'Metaphysical Poetry' which we printed in our second year (volume II, page 222), and which became (with the blessing of Professor Grierson) a recognized critical classic almost at once. The fact that James Smith was for us one of the most highly valued of the inner group of collaborators (he

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contributed besides a long critique of Chapman and essays on 'The Tragedy of Blood' and Marlowe's 'Dr Faustus', examinations of Croce and of Alfred North Whitehead) may be seen as giving the positive correlative of our dead set against sciolism and bogus intellectuality—a divined dead set and hatred that earned us much hatred in response.

It is true in general of our criticism of foreign work, French, German and Italian, that it comes from writers who not only have an intimate knowledge of the given language, but are also critically alive in the way that is tested by a man's performance in relation to the literature of his own speech. And it goes with this that, though we started fashions, our critics were not any more given to modishness in dealing with foreign literatures than in dealing with our own. It may fairly be seen as characteristic of the ethos we cultivated that one of the most influential of D. A. Traversi's essays printed in *Scrutiny* was his critique of *I Promessi Sposi* (volume IX, page 131). On the other hand, where German literature, to which we gave much more space than to Italian but—and properly—less than to French, was concerned, though we took prompt note of Kafka (who had the attention of more than one critic), and were far from neglectful in respect of Rilke and Stefan George, we printed during the war D. J. Enright's[1] sustained examination of Goethe—to give to whom, at that time, so much space was in a sense our 'politics'.

The explorer of those volumes will see that we did not fail to find, the qualifications being of the kind indicated, admirably qualified American representatives;[2] they, indeed, will be judged to have constituted one of our distinctive strengths. But, with a view to recalling the current talk about 'the two cultures', I will, instead of dwelling on the extent and variety of *Scrutiny's* achievement on the American side, pass with a jump to the remote other end of the range of interests from literature, and make the immediately relevant point that J. L. Russell, whose essay, 'The Scientific Best Seller', dealing with Jeans and Eddington, will be found on page 348 of volume II,[3] was a research scientist who belonged to what I may call our early *Scrutiny* group and was a familiar of the discussions at the hearth that was our centre. Jeans and Eddington have not now the representative or symbolic value they had then, but I can testify that the essay made a great impression ('The purpose of the present article', the first sentence runs, 'is to discuss the causes of the popularity of the books listed above, and their value from a general cultural and philosophical point of view'), had much influence, and earned a world-wide reputation, as I knew from the comments of visitors to Cambridge (and visitors from abroad, I will take the opportunity to put on record, had commonly formed flattering notions of *Scrutiny's* status—flattering to Cambridge, at any rate).

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[1] He now holds the Chair of English at Singapore.

[2] See especially the work of Henry Bamford Parkes and of Marius Bewley, whose *The Complex Fate* was very largely written in *Scrutiny*.

[3] I reprinted it with other essays from *Scrutiny* in *Determinations*, which we sold outright to the publisher in aid of *Scrutiny* funds.

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J. L. Russell was not our only scientist contributor. But what I oughtn't longer to leave unreferred to, for it was a major manifestation of the Idea of *Scrutiny* as we conceived and realized it, is the way in which we endeavoured to illustrate and enforce the conviction (expressed, I may properly say, since the book came out first in *Scrutiny*, in my *Education and the University: A Sketch for an English School*) that literary studies should be developed outward from the centre and, by way of 'background' (that accepted and honoured category), take the intelligence trained in 'English' into quite other-than-literary fields. The work initiated and given so powerful an impulsion by *Fiction and the Reading Public* (with its derivative, *Culture and Environment*) went on in *Scrutiny*—it was one of our staple preoccupations. And, if one is to speak of 'sociology', what has been so much heard of in the last few years as a new 'sociological' approach to literature, entertainment and culture and is supposed (it seems) to have been invented by writers enjoying in *The Guardian*, the weeklies and the Sunday papers a favour that *Fiction and the Reading Public* and *Scrutiny* most certainly did not, may fairly be said, in so far as disciplined studies requiring the literary–critical intelligence are in question, to have been demonstrated and established by *Scrutiny* and the research work, with the documented thesis, out of which *Scrutiny* very largely took its start.

Further, in order to insist properly that when we spoke and thought of *disciplines* of intelligence that derive, so far as the subtlety of control and evaluation they cultivate is concerned, from the training got in intelligent 'English' studies we were not using the word 'discipline' lightly or irresponsibly, I must put on record that at least five of the familiars of the *Scrutiny* milieu, students of 'English', became anthropologists. Certain of them are now well known and of recognized distinction in their field, and a group of them have made *Scrutiny* a not unknown name in their School at an ancient university. I have in front of me as I write a letter (written somewhere in Africa) from one of them, in which he speaks of the experience of 'English' acquired in the *Scrutiny* milieu as having told decisively in his development as an anthropologist.

One of our editorial team, D. W. Harding, now holds a Chair of Social Psychology in London. Professor Harding read English in the first place, and went over from the English Tripos to Psychology. He, then, might reasonably have been said (more reasonably than I. A. Richards, with whom in those days the formula was associated) to be 'the point at which psychology and literary criticism meet'. It is a familiar kind of irony that *The Times Literary Supplement* should have found it possible a long quarter of a century after Harding's critique of I. A. Richards (volume I, page 327) to go on telling its readers, as if referring to known and indisputable fact, that *Scrutiny* aimed at making criticism a science.

The ambition, of course, was associated with Cambridge, and the Cambridge was that of I. A. Richards, C. K. Ogden, Basic English and Neo-Benthamism. It is, I think, fair to say that the only effective criticism that Richards, who represented the influence of that Cambridge on critical thought (or quasi-intellectual fashion), ever

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received was in *Scrutiny*, and it was decisive—a good instance of what can be done against the ostensible odds if the clear and unanswerable truth can be put trenchantly and be both heard and known to have been heard. Harding's critique appeared in 1933, and I reprinted it in *Determinations* (1934). No attempt that I am aware of was made to answer Harding's drastic analysis, and Richards moved on to 'Semasiology', the book in which he offered to found that science being *Coleridge on Imagination*, where he proposes to 're-state Coleridge in terms of Bentham'. That book, under the heading 'Dr Richards, Bentham and Coleridge', *Scrutiny* dealt with in a long review which appeared in 1935 (volume III, page 382). *Scrutiny's* criticism of the Neo-Benthamite drive was, as I have said, decisive—decisive in that curious and characteristic way we came to know so well. The academic Establishment in 'English', which had shown itself decidedly hospitable to Richards (*Coleridge on Imagination* was accepted—and prescribed—as an authoritative work on Coleridge), did not give a sign of recognition that anything had occurred that might be supposed to be within its proper intellectual purview; nor did the modish literary world, that reflected in *The New Statesman and Nation*, *The Times Literary Supplement* and *The Criterion*. A student of those organs will find that the habit of knowing reference and assumption (and 'Cambridge criticism'—meaning, without any recognition of it as such, the Neo-Benthamism—had become one of those familiar 'placed' features of the literary intellectual's pocket-map which make confident critical mastery of the scene possible) continued as before. But actually the chapter of Cambridge Neo-Benthamism—and it was by way of the English School that Neo-Benthamism implicated Cambridge—was finished; Basic English superseded Semasiology as overtly Richards's major interest, and Neo-Benthamism was, in this form, associated thereafter, if with any university, with Harvard.

Another of the editorial team who combined academic qualifications in two different fields was W. H. Mellers (now Andrew Mellon Professor of Music at Pittsburgh). Mellers, an Exhibitioner in English at Downing College, took both parts of the English Tripos and then (having always been a vital dynamism in the musical life of the College, which became in his time a well-known musical centre) proceeded to his Mus.Bac. His very frequent contributions earned him a great reputation, and were for some years a major feature of *Scrutiny*. As a critic, he rapidly earned a name for his exploring intelligence and pioneering judgement. He wrote as musician and musicologist, but his criticism offers yet another illustration of the way in which the discipline and the education we, in the *Scrutiny* group, held to be central and basic can tell in the field of a non-literary discipline. The characteristics by which his approach in general belonged to the *Scrutiny* ethos are seen plainly in his first book, *Music and Society* (1946), a large proportion of which had been written for *Scrutiny*. Here, among other things, it will be noted, we have the line that runs from *Fiction and the Reading Public*.

We had a distinguished music critic before Wilfred Mellers began to write for us. Bruce Pattison (now Professor of Education in

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London) as a research student was a member of the early group. His contributions will be found in the first half-dozen volumes. The ways in which his approach is characteristically '*Scrutiny*' come out especially well in his article 'Musical History' (volume III, page 369) and the review of Westrup's *Purcell* headed 'Orpheus Britannicus' (volume VI, page 106), which has been gratefully conned by innumerable literary students of the seventeenth century.

Scrutiny, then, enforced and justified the conception of 'English' as a liaison field of study.[1] The centre for us was beyond question in literary criticism, and it really was vitally a centre. And *Scrutiny's* basic achievement was in literary criticism. It will be proper for me, then, to say a little more about what that achievement was. *Scrutiny*, I said, effected something like a revaluation of English literature, and I said it when emphasizing the nature of our concern with the present. *Scrutiny's* treatment of the past was scholarly. It was resented by the scholars (those commonly meant by the description) because the scholarliness was that of the critic who knows what literature is, can recognize it for himself when he finds it, and can discuss it intelligently. I can best bring the point home by referring to John Speirs's studies of medieval literature. One is always hearing of contemptuous discrimination on the part of academic 'authorities' against his body of work on Chaucer and his essay on *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*: students are told not to read it, just as they were once told not to read *Scrutiny* work on Shakespeare. Yet reasons for the attitude that will bear considering are never given: they cannot be. Speirs's offence is, by being an intelligent and vitally interested scholar, to have brought an implicit criticism against what ordinarily passes for specialist scholarship, to have questioned (that is) its authority; and the offence is not forgiven even when the 'scholars' (the common practice) take over so far as they are able the fruits of the offending work. They make no acknowledgement for what they take, and when some ambitious academic intellectual serves up as proof of his own pioneering originality Speirs on *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight* (say) his proof is acclaimed as sound and brilliant and his career is advanced. This is the pattern of what has happened again and again to *Scrutiny* writers.

Speirs's work on 'The Scots Literary Tradition' (the book under that title, bringing together the work published in *Scrutiny*, came out in 1940) was truly original. And that constitutes with the accompanying work on medieval English literature a major achievement, shaping and creative in its unifying intelligence and vitality and its critical justice. Where medieval literature is in question, what

[1] It is relevant to note here that of others of the changing editorial team, L. C. Knights and F. R. Leavis were Scholars in History who took English as a Second Part, Denys Thompson read Classics before English, and H. A. Mason, an Oxford recruit, was qualified academically in Classics and Modern Languages, having a scholarly and critical equipment that has produced original work on the Tudor Period (see his book, *Humanism and Poetry in the Early Tudor Period*).

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Speirs did was to perform the characteristic *Scrutiny* office of taking it out of the hands of the specialists and professionals and laying it open to the cultivated reader as living literature. This is the offence which the specialists and professionals call lack of scholarship.

There was a respect in which the hostility touched off by *Scrutiny's* work on medieval literature closely resembled that which met its Shakespeare criticism. And this indignation on behalf of the sound approach to Shakespeare has not yet been altogether forgotten: academic reviewers commonly remark how much better Professor L. C. Knights is now as a critic of Shakespeare than he was in his *Scrutiny* days, when he was associated with the campaign against Bradley. Of course the guilt, if guilt is to be attributed, was not solely or even especially L. C. Knights's. *Scrutiny's* Shakespeare criticism, contributed to by a good many different hands, shared the ethos and the impulsion of its criticism in general. It did indeed effect the relegation of Bradley, and did it by bringing home to the academic world, in the course of exemplifying positively a number of more subtle and intelligent approaches to Shakespeare, how inadequate and wrong the Bradley approach was. Eight or nine different critics, writing critiques of particular plays or reviewing books on Shakespeare, demonstrated, implicitly or explicitly, that it would not do to discuss a Shakespeare play as if it were a character-novel answering to the established Victorian (and post-Victorian) convention. The unsettling suggestion was an offence resented in the same way as the suggestion that, for an intelligent appreciation of Chaucer and Langland and *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*, a subtler equipment of critical ideas was required than a scholar would bring with him in a Victorian habit of approach to poetry.

The relegation of Bradley has been so complete that the intensity of resentment aroused by *Scrutiny's* work needs some insisting on. A rising young Cambridge Shakespearean, I remember, one who was both a Charles Oldham prizewinner and an amateur of modern poetry (he backed Auden and Spender), took the opportunity, when doing a review for *The New Statesman and Nation*, to make his soundness superabundantly plain with a fervent 'Thank God for Bradley!'

Scrutiny stood for no one method or approach. Its reviewers in the early 'thirties, while urging some astringent criticism and caveats, insisted—and this was far from being the general thing in those days—that Wilson Knight deserved serious attention. It introduced the critic whose Shakespearean criticism has been immensely influential, and in a less qualified way salutary than Wilson Knight's has been—D. A. Traversi. Its concern was to prevent the hardening into accepted 'rightness' of any supposed new method or approach or set of critical conceptions. Its habit and the nature of its influence are fairly given by the exchanges that will be found in volume X between Fr A. J. Stephenson (who is criticizing F. C. Tinkler's earlier essay—see volume VII, page 5) and F. R. Leavis, and between L. C. Knights and the last-named. And not the less for having been emancipating as well as impelling and fertilizing, *Scrutiny* will be credited in

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literary history with having effected a reorientation in Shakespeare criticism.[1]

The main creative force of modern literature, we all know, has gone into the novel. And *Scrutiny*, it may fairly be claimed, established a new sense of the kinds of critical approach called for by significant fiction—fiction that is serious art—and a new idea of the history and tradition of the novel in English. Its influence on the criticism of the novel has been immense. It is seen representatively in the decisive change that has been brought about in the conception of Jane Austen's art and achievement. The revolution was effected (for it amounted to that in respect of Jane Austen's accepted standing—and the change in general in critical approach to the novel can be seen to be entailed) by essays that appeared in *Scrutiny* during the war; by this, and developments of the same scholarship (scholarship that functions as criticism) in Q. D. Leavis's introductions to *Sense and Sensibility* and *Mansfield Park* in the Macdonald edition—but in essentials the work had been done in the *Scrutiny* essays. It too has been taken over, and those who have used it, including the supremely scrupulous specialist scholar, have shown the characteristic absence, or antithesis, of honesty and generosity. In general, the attitude is that this account of Jane Austen has always been commonplace. Yet how recent and revolutionary the change in conception has been may be established by a study of back Tripos papers and the type of question they ask.[2] And the nature of this change is registered in the cautious ironies of the consciously stranded belletrist who, defiant champion of the receding Oxford civilization that[3] conferred an honorary doctorate on P. G. Wodehouse, protests that Cambridge undergraduates, being trained into a

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[1] A very producible and cogent relevant document that can be pointed to is Professor Henri Fluchère's *Shakespeare: Dramaturge Elizabéthain* (1940). Henri Fluchère, from the early days one of the *Scrutiny* connexion, was pre-eminently our representative in France. His book, translated, is known today as one of the most current books on Shakespeare in this country.

[2] And see the anthology of quotations from critical comment and appreciation assembled by D. W. Harding in 'Regulated Hatred' (vol. VIII, page 346).

[3] It is very relevant to refer the reader to 'The Discipline of Letters: A Sociological Note' by Q. D. Leavis (volume XII, page 12). This will introduce him to the series of studies and notes in which *Scrutiny* dealt with the 'sociology' of the academic world. It refers back to an essay on A. C. Haddon: 'Academic Case-History' (volume XI, page 305). And it is in place to mention here, to be set alongside 'The Discipline of Letters'—an astringent analysis of the tradition of *belles-lettres*—the positive appreciations of representative figures of what we judged to be the vital Cambridge tradition: 'Leslie Stephen: Cambridge Critic' (volume VII, page 404); 'Professor Chadwick and English Studies' (volume XIV, page 204); and 'Henry Sidgwick's Cambridge' (volume XV, page 2)—all these by Q. D. Leavis.

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priggish scorn of the view that literature exists to be *enjoyed*, take Jane Austen with a ridiculous kind of seriousness and stare at the suggestion that she is amusing. At Oxford, one hears, it is a different suggestion that gets stared at. 'What, *Mansfield Park* as reasonably to be called "tragedy" as "comedy"? You *do* take life seriously.'

The contemporary quickening of critical interest in Dickens, the readiness to consider him as a great artist—one of the greatest of novelists (that is), was initiated in its pages. R. C. Churchill's 'Dickens, Drama and Tradition', which appeared in 1942 (Vol. X, page 358) was both original and seminally suggestive in its approach, and the present writer's essay on *Hard Times* (Vol. XIV, page 185), while first received with ridicule, has now been taken over (for the shows of corrective re-formulation have been mere shows). The essay was the first of a long series printed under the general head, 'The Novel as Dramatic Poem', a formula that, at first much derided, has been in effect taken up: the critical implications regarding profitable approaches to the novel, enforced (as they were in *Scrutiny*) by abundant and diverse illustrative criticism, have told very generally. G. D. Klingopulos's study of *Wuthering Heights* (Vol. XIV, page 269) came under the same head, and will be seen by those who consider relative dates (for *Wuthering Heights* has received much subsequent attention) to have been wholly original and decidedly influential.

Scrutiny printed an immense body of pioneering criticism of the novel. The work restoring George Eliot to her position among the greatest novelists (for Elton's view, odd as it seems now, that her genius had properly been found less compelling than those of both Meredith and Hardy, her successors, was in keeping with the general acceptance) was done in *Scrutiny*, and has been very much drawn on. So has the work, equally to be claimed as *Scrutiny's*, that established Conrad in his now recognized place among the great, and *Nostromo* as his greatest novel.

Many further claims might justly be made, but I will confine myself to two points more. The modern cult of Henry James is not altogether a thing that admirers of his genius can contemplate with satisfaction—that is, if one judges it by what is written on him and written up in the journals that make the reputations of critics. What, however, I have to record (the investigator will be able without difficulty to verify what I say) is that *Scrutiny* started it. There was no cult in the 1930's when the considerable body of James criticism we produced began to appear. Those of us who took a hand in it didn't find our start in the work of earlier critics. We were the originators, and from our work was derived the incitement—and often a great deal more. Some of the most pregnant criticism and the most useful to later offerers is to be found in reviews that have never (until the present historic occasion) been reprinted; as, for instance, Q. D. Leavis's discussion of *The Lesson of the Master*, along with other tales, in 'Henry James: The Stories' (volume XIV, page 223).

The other point is that the work that established D. H. Lawrence as a great novelist and critic was done in *Scrutiny*. This is so simply and indisputably true that the brief statement need not be added to,

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and so important in relation to any account of what *Scrutiny* achieved and signifies that it must be said. This work too has been, without acknowledgement, much used by later writers. I will put on record that I brought out my own book on Lawrence when I did because it had become plain to me (matter appearing in another journal had made it so) that if I did not, but completed first the book I was working on, my book on Lawrence, when it appeared, would be convicted by the reviewers (the confraternity of whom were most certainly not *my* friends) of dependence on my exploiter. There could be disadvantages in lying open for long in *Scrutiny* (and work was in danger before it reached that stage: it sometimes got into print from lecture-room notes, leaving the real author to follow).

The vast amount of book-making that has been done (and is still being done) out of *Scrutiny* is a tribute to the level of quality maintained in its contents—the vitality and originality for which it was known in the literary and academic worlds where it was rarely mentioned unless for a sneer. I am thinking in the first place, in this observation, of the great volume of parasitic indebtedness, but the characteristics making that possible were those manifest also in the fact that a remarkable number of books—I can count off-hand at least fifteen—were written, so to speak, in the pages of *Scrutiny*. Our contributors had, each of them, his developed and developing special interests and themes, and his fund of thought and knowledge. His contributions were, to use Dr Johnson's word on Dryden, 'occasional' in the right way: the occasion offered or endorsed editorially by *Scrutiny* was for him an opportunity and a stimulus. Another aspect of the same fact is the way (and I have left behind now my reference to the gross and contemptible kind of parasitism—though there are of course various degrees to be noted between that and the derivativeness that can be judged unexceptionable) in which *Scrutiny* has been an inexhaustible source of ideas and themes for books and studies throughout the English-speaking world.

In spite of the denial of the ordinary publicities, it very early won a reputation that got it the kind of expectant attention implied in what I have just said. It was again and again remarked to us that each number of *Scrutiny* was read as a book, and kept as a book for indefinite rereading. I have explained the conditions that made this quality possible. There was the nuclear group with its variety of developed interests and its special equipments of knowledge; there was the background of discussion, resumed, renewed and continued, out of which each number emerged. And so much of each number was written as part of a book, the author writing it as such even when he didn't positively envisage later separate publication in hard covers. Indeed, a good deal that was printed in *Scrutiny* has not been published since in book form but deserves to be and ought to have been. I would mention particularly R. G. Cox's work on 'The Great Reviews' (volume VI, pages 2 and 155). This work represents a most thorough research, conducted with the eye for significance belonging to the critic who did for us an immense amount of varied reviewing of a high order, and whose essay, 'The Critical Reviews of To-day: Prolegomena to a Historical Enquiry', expresses directly the

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living contemporary interest that supplies the life and meaning of his scholarship. And his research, with which we were familiar, illustrates the way in which our enterprise in *Scrutiny* was accompanied by an unusual and immediately relevant historical awareness.

I will not close this brief sketch of *Scrutiny's* creative critical achievement, the comprehensive revaluation of English literature, shaping and re-ordering, that went with its performance of the critical function in relation to the present, without reverting to the insistence that there can be no real—no truly creative—performance that doesn't entail much offending 'negative' criticism. The major and most notorious 'negative' service called for and performed, one the justice and necessity of which are now generally recognized (though it has never been forgiven), was to deal firmly with the 'Poetical Renascence', the coterie movement that opened triumphantly in the early 'thirties. It would be hardly credible now that (for young schoolmasters and their pupils) Auden, Spender and Day Lewis rapidly became contemporary glories of English poetry along with Yeats and Eliot, if the movement had not been so successful that the linked names were retained, with the conventional values inertly adhering to them, by generation after generation of schoolboys and undergraduates, and are still being immortalized by historians of Modern Poetry.

Scrutiny pointed out that talent and promise might plausibly be found in only one of the famed cluster—Auden, and that Auden, with his modish, glib and sophisticated immaturity couldn't go on being credited with promise if, gainsaying the ominous characteristics, he didn't soon begin to prove himself capable of developing. Critic after critic in *Scrutiny* (we took care to give him a number of different and clearly independent reviewers), dealing with his books as they came out, did the appropriate variant of the diagnosis, which became depressingly familiar. For Auden did not develop—or what development he showed was not into maturity. That *Scrutiny*, affirming and enforcing it again and again, should have come to the adverse judgement in the hey-day of the Public School Communists and Fellow-travellers, when Keynes himself—a power in the world of cultural fashions[1]—acclaimed with high enthusiasm Auden's poem on Spain with its proud challenge ('And then the battle!'), was held confidently and venomously against us.

Thirty years after we put the case against Auden it passes as a commonplace. True, there is a suggestion that he has 'gone off',

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[1] See 'Keynes, Spender and Currency-values' (volume XVIII, page 45). Reviewing Stephen Spender's autobiographical work, *World within World*, and *The Life of John Maynard Keynes* by R. F. Harrod, I deal in some detail with the crucial chapter of history glanced at in the above paragraphs; in particular, with the part played by Keynes in the development of the old Bloomsbury into the dominant coterie of the 'thirties, the 'literary world' of which the Auden–Spender group was the centre and Kingsley Martin's *New Statesman* the faithful and very dominant organ.

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and that it is the late Auden who compels the current adverse criticism. But if the criticism is admitted, then the Auden of no phase can be saved. And in fact that has been implicitly granted. Quietly, by tacit consent, his spell of glory has lapsed—though in the tough sophistication that enables young poets to offer their immaturity as a mature aplomb the influence persists.

It was in *Scrutiny*, too, that Eliot, invested and confirmed as we were entering on our long battle in his now time-worn institutional status, received the limiting and qualifying criticism that tells, or at any rate is justified, in the sense of him and of his oddly disappointing distinction so generally expressed today. *The Criterion*, one remembers, was (in its review pages) as much the organ of the triumphant coterie as *The New Statesman* was. Yet the intransigent and acclaimed young poets were Marxist or Marxising. We in *Scrutiny* were continually being challenged to 'show our colours', the implication—or the overt taunt—being that since we rejected Marxism (or Fellow-travelling), nothing remained for us, if we wished to be taken seriously, but to make without evasion the *other* choice, identified for purposes of literary polemic with T. S. Eliot, the Rightist man of principle, who, Anglo-Catholic himself and admirer of Charles Maurras, handed over to the Leftist poets to use for their ends the review pages of his quarterly. We, of course, while appreciating the ironies of this particular comedy, repudiated altogether the suggestion that, for responsible minds, it could be a matter of 'showing colours', or that there were any relevant 'colours' to be shown. We did indeed reject Marxism and we had no use for any proposed antithesis, Fascistic, Poundian, Wyndham-Lewisite or Criterionic.

It is necessary, in an attempt to constate the nature of *Scrutiny*'s achievement, that this history shall have been recalled. Few people today, I think, will hold it against us that we refused to take the fashionable way of showing that we were 'responsible' (to show one's colours *was*, in the Auden–Spender hey-day, to show one's responsibility). And I hope that what I have said in this introduction makes it difficult for anyone to suggest that *Scrutiny* turns out, in fact, to have been less responsible in regard to the problems of contemporary civilization than the promoters of the Auden–Spender enlightenment or the editor of *The Criterion* (which had—its acclaimed distinction—a philosophy). I will record here, as a relevant and representative datum, this: we had a great influence—and not the less because *Scrutiny* was known to be an outlaw enterprise—on generations of Cambridge students from the Indian sub-continent who now form key *élites* in India and Pakistan. How measure the effect of such influence? And who will pronounce it negligible?

Scrutiny had, I have pointed out with some specificity, a positive attitude, entailing beliefs and affirmations that enabled us, the permanent direction at the centre, to face ostracism and the long penalty-rewarded effort (it indeed brought no worldly advantages). It was an attitude thought out, pondered and reconsidered in all its aspects and implications, and, while 'philosophy' was not a word we were fond of, capable of being set forth and developed with precision

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and delicacy (as well as the force of the exemplifying concrete) in what might after all, in a common respectable usage, have been properly called our philosophy. So far as a representative presentation of it can be given in a discussion that centres in the Idea of a University (and that centring entails no wrench or paradox), one may be pointed to in my *Education and the University: A Sketch for an English School* (1943), which was thought out in close connexion with the running of *Scrutiny* and largely written in its pages. And the little book, it seems very relevant to say, contains the answer that I should give to the Neo-Wellsianism of C. P. Snow—that representative phenomenon of our own day.

Though a review that doesn't pay its contributors and staff falls short of performing the full function, *Scrutiny* may be said, then, to have made its inability to pay a reinforcement of its strength. And though I could say much about the greater effectiveness *Scrutiny* might have had if the hostility of the academic and literary worlds had been less complete and intense, nevertheless our position as outlaws was certainly an advantage in the matter of maintaining standards; we were less troubled by the anti-critical pressures incidental to 'belonging' (though the self-esteem of aspiring or well-known intellectuals cannot be expected to take kindly in any case to the probability that its typescripts, if submitted, would be judged not good enough to print). And here, in my intentness on the significance of our experience for later attempts to serve the critical function, I think it perhaps worth saying in so many words that no such attempt, if it is serious, will fail to generate resentment and hostility in the literary and academic worlds. The truth is a truism; but, *Scrutiny* having become a fact of accepted literary history, one has heard of offers from academic milieux to profit by the example, and show how the virtues of *Scrutiny* (for *Scrutiny* is granted some virtues—unavoidably, one might say, seeing how immense is the clear book-making indebtedness to it that couldn't plausibly be denied) can in fact be reproduced without the vices—the vices being the 'narrowness', the proneness to 'negative' criticism, the offensiveness: in short, all the qualities that made it 'alarming' (the word actually used[1] by a great Establishment potentate at Cambridge—and his name now serves the offerers as a test for broadness and non-negativity) to intellectuals, distinctions and authorities whose recognized status as such depended on an institutionally secured value-convention, feared sanctions and a safe currency.

But even 'positive' criticism, when it presents new valuations challengingly and unanswerably, gives offence, and is greeted with animus; the negative implications (there cannot be criticism of any

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[1] '*Scrutiny* is very alarming.' This was in the middle 'thirties, when we, the prime movers and indispensable permanencies at Cambridge, without social position, private resources, post or salary, were shut off (it might seem) from all possibility of being dangerous in what looked like hopeless ostracism.

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moment without them) will be taken, with resentment, by the conventional reader: in questioning his judgement they give a jolt to his educated superiority and may seem to leave his personality damagingly criticized. And, inevitably, a genuine offer to perform the critical function in a periodical must maintain a play of criticism that is in large measure 'negative' in more than implication. But who today, looking through the score of volumes with the sustained integrative collaboration they represent, and pondering the originality of the criticism, its nature and influence, and the significance of the large body of unpaid collaborators and of the larger body of attached and critical readers, will contend that the work and achievement of *Scrutiny* were not creative?

As for the hostility that met them, that belongs to the essential significance it is my business to convey. In the milieux where hostility is the natural reaction to such challenges there has been a habit, now that the *Scrutiny* judgements have been on the whole taken over as right and *Scrutiny* itself accepted as a fact of history, of making the history pleasanter, and discounting any suggestion of subversive lessons to be learnt from it, by dismissing any reference to the hostility as evidence of persecution-mania.

So far as the academic world is in question I will only comment that anyone who cares to know the truth can, without arduous research, very soon assemble real evidence, unequivocal in force, and sufficient to expose the tactic for the significant and mean dishonesty it is. And there is immensely more than those categories of overt official fact that could be drawn on—as no doubt it will, some time, be.

On the attitude of the literary world a modest piece of research might very profitably be done; it would yield an illuminating and suggestive 'contribution to knowledge', of a kind that ought to be judged important by the criteria favoured in an English School. The researcher, to specify one place out of many in *Scrutiny*, will find clues and hints that will start him off well in the comment that begins on page 224 of volume XVIII: 'Mr Pryce-Jones, The British Council and British Culture.' So launched on his investigations into the literature of the British Council, he will discover things that, whatever his predisposition, he is likely to find surprising—startling, even (if in such places and under such an aegis he expects a moderately cautious concern for decency or discretion), in that the light they throw is the reverse of blinding. They entail a consistent and undeniable *parti pris* against *Scrutiny*—against giving it any publicity that can be withheld, or representing it, when mention can't be avoided, as concerned for anything but 'cold' analysis and the 'methodical and uncompromising destruction of reputations' by a 'hypercritical minority group'. The significance in general can be sufficiently intimated by quoting from the comment referred to above:

> 'Three years ago another British Council publication, *Prose Literature since 1939* (by Mr John Hayward), evoked this comment in *Scrutiny*:
>
> "It would of course be 'hypercritical' to suggest (though Americans and foreigners in the present writer's hearing have

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said it) that nothing could be worse for the prestige and influence of British Letters abroad than Mr Hayward's presentment of Metropolitan literary society and the associated University *milieux* as the distinctions and achievements of contemporary England."

'Who can doubt that this suggests fairly enough the way in which the promotion of cultural ends by instruction and guidance "published for the British Council" must, in sum, inevitably work? A perusal of the booklet in which Mr Pryce-Jones's article appears will hardly tend towards any other conclusion. The valuations, the ethos and the criteria promulgated through the weeklies, the Sunday papers and the B.B.C. are provided by the British Council (financed out of public funds) with further means of imposing themselves and with a kind of institutional authority.'

This authority, with the comprehensive system it served, we had steadily against us. It is relevant to put on record here that, as the investigator will have learnt from the Comment in volume XVIII referred to earlier, the Mr Pryce-Jones who contributed to the British Council booklet, *The Year's Work in Literature 1950*, was also the editor of *The Times Literary Supplement*. And I can tell the investigator that, on the 'notorious occasion' referred to in that Comment (page 228, first paragraph) I had had a prolonged correspondence with the editor of *The Times Literary Supplement*, which journal, in the issue for 25 August 1950, had published a forty-four page 'Critical and Descriptive Survey of British Writing for Readers Overseas'. The otherwise very comprehensive account of 'Literary Periodicals' in that survey contains no mention of *Scrutiny*. My first letter to the editor began: 'Seeing, I confess, in the exclusion of *Scrutiny* from among the Literary Periodicals in your Survey of Contemporary British Writing for Overseas Readers a familiar kind of discrimination against which, as a rule, there is no point in protesting (though third-party testimony is another matter), I had intended to let it pass.' I was writing, I said, because of the justification offered by the editor in replying to a third-party protest, a letter that had in fact been printed. The unsatisfactory and provocative nature of the editor's reply to my own letter (which wasn't printed) compelled me to write back, a process that was repeated again and again. The correspondence, though it will not be found in the files of *The Times Literary Supplement*, can be consulted (the investigator should note) in the London Library, where (headed 'Virtue in Our Time', the title of some broadcast talks by my correspondent) copies are preserved.

In this way inquiry will have been set going into the files of *The Times Literary Supplement*—and will have continued, perhaps, not the less expectantly because no letter of mine is to be found in the numbers succeeding the 'notorious occasion'. Such a habit of discrimination against *Scrutiny* on the part of *The Times Literary Supplement*, with its air of institutional disinterestedness, may perhaps strike the researcher as more significant and disturbing than twenty years of hostility less discreetly expressed in *The New*

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Statesman and Nation, which may be regarded as, over the given period, pre-eminently representative of the modish London literary world. Yet, if he takes account of the Literary Editors' policy in general, the particular abstentions from notice where books notably associated with *Scrutiny* were concerned, the suppressions (let him for instance consider those selected lists of the coming season's publishing), the convention of sneering reference in the review pages, and the related convention of wit on the competitions page, he will certainly conclude that the habit of *The New Statesman and Nation* too (as Mr R. H. S. Crossman, never a member of the *Scrutiny* connexion, has recently testified in *The Guardian*) is significant. As for *The Criterion*, the researcher must also go through that: I don't know that he will find a single reference to *Scrutiny* there—which is not to say that he won't come away with a great deal of relevant illumination.

I have been concerned to bring out the full significance of *Scrutiny's* having survived for twenty years. It did indeed meet with hostility in the places that, together, might have been thought decisive: that I hope I have put beyond question, and I know that inquiry can only multiply corroborative evidence. But the significance in sum (perhaps I have the right to insist) is positive. Our success in keeping *Scrutiny* going demonstrated the sense of need, the life, in our culture that will not acquiesce in the developments of our civilization I have been pointing to. I say this with my mind on the prospect of further demonstrations, and on the chances they may have (for there would be little point in this reprint if it were not an incitement). I ought here, then, to answer the question (how often has it been put to me!): Why did *Scrutiny* stop?

It was not because we failed to hold our public and were not selling enough copies to pay the printer's bill. We sold out, and could certainly have sold at least twice as many as we printed. In the 1930's we printed 750, a large proportion of which went to subscribers, the rest selling out in due course. This figure tells nothing about the size of the actual public, for very many copies—including many of those subscribed for—went to key places and had, each of them, a great many readers in sixth forms and universities all over the world. It was with the war that the demand began to grow pressingly, and the irony we had to stomach was that the very strict rationing of paper vetoed any increase in the printing: we had a battle, in fact, to maintain the established printing without an insufferable reduction in the number of pages and a cramped make-up. The paper-restriction, of course, outlasted the war, but by 1950 we had been able to raise the printing to 1500. It was a quite different consequence of the war that brought *Scrutiny* to a stop.

As soon as mobilization started, which was well before the declaration of war, our contributing connexion registered the consequences. As the war went on the problem became with each number more difficult, so that, looking ahead to the next, one wondered desperately how it was to be brought out, so impossible did the mustering of a sufficient team appear. Still, number after number, *Scrutiny* did come out, at what cost in strain to the permanent

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nucleus of the connexion those who examine the volumes for those years will perhaps guess. The difficulty continued for long after the end of the war. For all that time we had not been enlisting and training up recruits in the way peace-time Cambridge had made possible. And now men came back very conscious of the lost years, pressed by the urgency of catching up and becoming qualified, often married, and, in general, without the margin in life for gratuitous concentration on work for *Scrutiny*. The struggle to keep going was desperate, bearing more heavily even than before on the editorial protagonist (who, well on into his fifties, achieved at last in these post-war years a full University Lectureship), and the decision to stop was sudden. It was precipitated by a quick succession of disappointments: contributor after contributor of those counted on wrote regretting the impossibility of keeping his promise. It became plain that if we went on after the completion of the volume we should be courting the embarrassment of never being able to come out on time or to prevent the lag continually growing. So we stopped. The editor now writing was for months afterwards snowed under with letters of protest and inquiry—tributes, and avowals of indebtedness, from readers all over the world in key positions in higher education and literary and cultural study and from writers and critics. But no one who could be thought of as a voice of the 'English' Establishment—at Cambridge, or in the country—was heard from on this occasion. And *The Times* refused to print a letter of testimony to the work of *Scrutiny* from Professor Henri Fluchère, Director of the Maison Française at Oxford. The distinguished military figure at the head of the British Council, however, sent us a few proper lines of official condolence, hoping we should believe that the Council had always done its best for *Scrutiny*, and ending: 'I hope you will soon start another magazine.'

In the subsequent decade the situation for those who might contemplate an enterprise dedicated, in our spirit, to the same ends has changed. If the initiator were (as he will not be) myself, I should be able to say that I knew of a score or more potential contributors who had been produced since the death of *Scrutiny*. If, however, I leave this parochial (though not irrelevant) note and give my impression of the scene in general, I can't pretend to see anything more encouraging than before in the contemporary performance, if that is the word, of what must pass for the critical function. The reviewing, in fact (and the system controlling it is much strengthened by command of the air and the television screen), is more clique- and mode- and time-serving than ever, and less inhibited, in its pursuit of its non-critical ends, by knowledge and education, or any sense of a critical public that might listen or read. A comparison between the Sunday papers of today and those of ten years ago would bring out the significant development by which, catering now with immensely more lavish expenditures for the 'educated classes' (circulations have soared), they have virtually abandoned, though they still print some reviews, all pretence of expecting what can plausibly be called educated attention. Attention is not what they expect or claim anywhere from any section of their public. They see as their freely

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avowable function today that of being agreeably distracting and time-passing, and they have the effect of offering the customer his main reading-matter for the week.

It might be commented that journals that must sell a million copies in order to live are inevitably like that. But the point I have to make is that what one finds in the review pages of the intellectual weeklies is essentially the culture of the Sunday papers. And the culture of the Sunday papers is what tends more and more to prevail at the senior levels in universities—as has been astonishingly demonstrated of late at Cambridge. The assimilation is of the essence of that modern process which made Sir Charles Snow a voice of wisdom about our culture, and his Rede Lecture a classic in our schools. One aspect of the menace is that the world of large circulations and expanding and multiplying universities is in important ways a very small one—small, though in effect comprehensive. Well-known dons, thought of widely as distinguished intellectuals, are assiduous journalists, establish themselves as names and authorities by frequent performance on radio and television, and form what Sir Charles Snow calls a 'culture' with the other practitioners of their kind, whether or not these claim academic standing, and the standards they favour will naturally be those by which they feel themselves safe as distinguished intellectuals. It has become very difficult to make an effective appeal against this 'culture': to what outside it or transcending it can the appeal be made, and how? The puritan or intransigent who questions its standards finds that he has incurred the enmity, immensely resourceful and quite unscrupulous, of a comprehensive system, one that commands, for the control of the currency, all the organs and channels of suggestion, inculcation and influence—supplies, that is, the 'education' that determines the knowledgeableness, the value-sense and the critical assumptions of the greater number of dons. (I had almost inserted here a qualifying 'outside their own disciplines', and of course it will have been understood; but I recollect the Cambridge historian who wrote to *The Spectator* affirming that Snow's history of the Industrial Revolution was sound.)

Yet on the other hand, *Scrutiny* has effected something, and, what is more, is known to have done so—known and felt in the world of the weeklies and the Sunday papers. That is the significance of the multiplying signs of insecurity, the gratuitous jibes, the obsessed references to 'proliferating disciples'. 'They feel themselves hemmed in', an acute observer of that world—the metropolitan literary world—said to me recently. 'They' are aware at any rate that their status as intellectuals is ironically questioned; that a key public, one that exercises a frightening influence through the universities and the schools and seems to determine in the long run the opinion that matters, finds their pretensions ridiculous. At present it is rather a menacing potentiality that makes itself strongly felt than fully what 'a public', in this context, should suggest; for without a critical organ it cannot have that assured sense of itself as positively and effectively a public, forming a community of consciousness and responsibility, which would make it one, and it is not 'there' for

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the critic to appeal to even if he had the means of appealing. To summon it into full life—that would have an effect out of all proportion to the numbers.

It could most certainly be done—I say it with the authority given by the long experience of *Scrutiny*. I am not suggesting that *Scrutiny* is to be repeated; it couldn't be. Conditions change—for one thing, as I have recalled, those who founded *Scrutiny* were freelances, without salaried posts of any kind; it is hardly conceivable that a successful enterprise in the spirit of *Scrutiny* could today come from, and continue to depend on, outlaws in that position. But I have already dwelt on the way in which we conceived our enterprise in terms of the time, the place and the circumstances. A renewed enterprise conceived and conducted in the same spirit would inevitably be in important ways different. But *Scrutiny* nevertheless is the sustained and strong demonstration of the thing done, and the proof of possible success—success attained by consistent severity of standard and an uncompromising service of the function. I have suggested that *Scrutiny*—the fact and the notoriety of the achievement—leaves the situation in some ways more favourable for our successors. A new critical challenge, unmistakably real and courageous, would draw together a comparatively large public, one that might even make payment of contributors possible. But the emphasis to close on is this: even a very small public may, the matters at issue being such as I have discussed in this introduction, be disproportionately influential. *Scrutiny* proved that.

F. R. LEAVIS

August 1962

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BY MAURICE HUSSEY

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I, 311, l. 27. *For* Powy's *read* Powys's
II, 61, ll. 22, 25. *For* Cupid *read* Mercury
III, 248, n. 1. *For* 1805–6 *read* 1850
346, l. 21. *Insert* only *after* With
363, l. 27. *Delete comma after* conviction
V, 200, last line but one. *For* June *read* July
201, l. 1. *For* othodox *read* orthodox
204, ll. 13–14. *For* exclusively *read* conclusively
207, l. 2. *For* casual *read* causal
234, l. 12. For *politicus* read *politicum*
289, last line but one. *For* Without *read* Withouten
294, l. 2. *For* other *read* others
318, l. 22. *For* in interest *read* an interest
322, l. 9. *After* left *insert* to
430, l. 4. *For* so it *read* so is
432, l. 21. *For* likely *read* unlikely
454, l. 16. *For* στιχμυθία *read* στιχομυθία
VI, 11, l. 33. *For* 1814 *read* 1824
54, l. 10. *For* Sig'd *read* Sigh'd
83, n. 1, l. 1. *For* come *read* came
88, l. 19. *For* lavit *read* luvit
88, l. 20. *For* there *read* thame
89, last line. *For* Crouchand *read* Couchand *and for* tharme *read* thame
96. There should be a space after l. 2 of the verse passage, and a space after l. 9, not l. 8
119, l. 23. *For* oposition *read* opposition
141, l. 10. *For* Rochfoucauld *read* Rochefoucauld
178, l. 30. *For* this *read* their
183, l. 3. *Insert* a *before* Face
183, l. 6. For *Wives as old* read *as old Wives*
185, l. 27. *For* altitude *read* attitude
308, l. 23. *For* Ransome *read* Ransom
352, l. 25. For *Classical* read *Classic*
475; l. 7. *For* presdigitation *read* prestidigitation
VII, 69, l. 6. *For* exact *read* inexact
81, l. 10. *For* Holmes *read* Holme's
86, para 2, l. 2. *For* 1893 *read* 1883
86, para 2, l. 4. *For* Accidence *read* Accident
108, l. 5. *For* Hobbes *read* Hobson
267, para 2, l. 4. For *Theoriem* read *Theorien*
310, l. 10. *For* imagery *read* imaginary
317, last line of note. *For* pleases *read* please
324 n., l. 2. For *Humanist's* read *Humanists*
360, last line but 6. *For* unusally *read* unusually
373, l. 9. *For* his son *read* Hareton
VIII, 54, l. 18. *For* say *read* saw
217, l. 3. For *Fifty* read *Fitly*

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viii, 218, l. 4. *For* tearing *read* teasing
241, l. 19. *For* J. G. *read* J. C.
268, l. 19. *Before* less *insert* no
321, para 2, l. 11. *For* that great *read* the great
321, para 2, l. 19. *For* 15–16 *read* xv–xvi
324, l. 5. *For* J. G. *read* J. C.
ix, 20, l. 18. Sense seems to demand 'almost' before 'all'
21, l. 2. *For* dull *read* good
22, l. 12. *For* our *read* your
22, l. 14. *For* Cuckodly *read* Cuckoldy
30, l. 1. *For* agree *read* agrees
80, para 2, l. 7. *For* or *read* and *and for* means *read* meant
82, last line but one. *For* belveen *read* between
86, para 2, ll. 2–3. *For* usefulness *read* uselessness *and delete* the form of Greek tragedy as a to
156, l. 7. *For* his *read* this
195, l. 16. For *Estwall* read *Estivall*
329, l. 9. *After* vous *insert* voir
354, last line. *For* flexibilty *read* flexibility
362, ll. 18 and 25. *For* licentuous *read* licentious
364, l. 3. *For* put *read* but
x, 70, line 5 from end. *For* II *read* 11
75, l. 17. *For* dignfied *read* dignified
117, l. 32. *For* Catherin *read* Catherine
119, l. 28. *For* uncertainly *read* uncertainty
120, l. 12. *For* old *read* older
130, l. 4. *For* even *read* ever
243, last line. *After* there *insert* is
294, l. 1. *For* pregant *read* pregnant
335, l. 23. *For* rate *read* fate
365, l. 10. *For* merily *read* merrily
393, l. 20. *For* commonplace or orthodox *read* a commonplace of orthodox
xi, 29, l. 28. *For* Pesonally *read* Personally
38, l. 2. *For* Qijon *read* Dijon
46, l. 3 from end. *For* streesed *read* stressed
47, l. 2 from end. *For* More *read* Mere
xii, 13, l. 37. *For* Garrod's *read* Gordon's
32, l. 9. *For* see *read* sees
48, l. 22. *Delete* of
52, l. 21. *For* they *read* thy
146, l. 5 from end. *For* out *read* our
170, l. 11. *For* wir *read* wie
xiii, 14, l. 2. *For* Nich *read* Nicht
27, 2nd section, l. 5. *For* edlen *read* edler
67, last line but one. *For* crimson *read* secret
87, French quotation, l. 8. *For* deaux *read* deux *and for* elles *read* elle
87, French quotation, l. 14. *For* qualitès *read* qualités
91, l. 7 from end. *For* partrie *read* patrie
106, l. 21. *For* Darcy *read* Bingley
124, l. 30. *For* were *read* where
127, l. 10 from end. *For* far *read* fair

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xiii, 174, l. 8. *For* Conrad *read* James
200, l. 12 from end. *For* Sarte *read* Sartre
211, l. 9 from end. *For* nevelist *read* novelist
221, l. 19 from end. *For* Houseman *read* Housman
221, l. 15 from end. *For* principle *read* principal
231, l. 5. *For* of *read* or
236, l. 25. *For* exposulation *read* expostulation
243, l. 10. *For* of *read* if
268, l. 28. *For* Dr. *read* Mr.
xiv, l. 48. *For* Chetham *read* Chettam
104, l. 19. *For* thing *read* think
109, l. 27. *For* XL *read* XI
170, l. 18 from end. *For* écrite *read* écrire
177, l. 17. *For* whether of *read* whether on
230, l. 25. *For* with *read* which
253, l. 6 from end. *For* established *read* establishes
254, l. 4. *For* contributors *read* contributor
254, l. 10. *For* which *read* while
308, l. 12 from end. *For* étre *read* être
308, l. 4 from end. *For* he *read* the
xv, 57, l. 20. *For* 21 *read* 121
65, l. 7 from end. *For* contributors *read* contributions
118, last line. *For* fire *read* life *and add* Impatient of his fit, breaks like a fire
191, l. 24. *For* Academy *read* Society
199, last line. *For* ii *read* i
200, l. 6 from end. *For* i *read* ii
202, l. 33. *For* II *read* III
203, l. 13. *For* gold *read* silver
xvi, 68, n. 5, l. 6. *Insert* is *after* he
93, para. 2, l. 10. *For* Baldassarre *read* Baldassare
100, l. 25. *For* Moore *read* More
128, l. 17 from end. *For* enabled *read* ennobled
129, l. 11 from end. *For* hence *read* thence
133, l. 7 from end. *For* carefuly *read* carefully
198, l. 16. For *agnorisis* read *anagnorisis*
199, l. 8 from end. *For* would I *read* I would
203, l. 10 from end. *For* sunning *read* cunning
206, l. 23. *For* oposite *read* opposite
225, l. 27. *For* is *read* it
303, l. 16. Delete *The*
305, l. 24. Delete *Life of*
333, l. 29. *For* affects *read* effects
xviii, 36, l. 4 from end. *For* qualitive *read* qualitative
xix, 2, l. 11. *For* wtih *read* with
6, l. 32. *For* Misss *read* Miss
282, l. 8. *For* every *read* very
308, last line but one. *For* Claudo *read* Claudio
324, l. 18. *Delete* and *before* had
333, l. 16. *Insert* comma *after* gathers
334, last line but one. *For* ignostic *read* gnostic

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